

WORKERS' AGE



A Paper Defending the Interests of the Workers and Farmers

VOL. 2, No. 9.

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Hitler in Power - Only United Front Can Save Labor!

Nazi Terror Sweeps Germany!

THE Fascist reaction has vaulted into power in Germany. With the monarchist Junker-militarist clique as their junior partner, the Nazis hold the German people by the throat with the clutch of bloody terror.

The program of Fascism in power is the program of trust capital, the program of the most concentrated capitalist reaction against the workers and the lower middle classes. Fascism in power means:

- the suppression of all genuine organizations of labor,
- the outlawing of the Communist and Social-democratic parties and the trade unions,
- the banning of strikes and all independent labor action,
- the enslavement of the workers thru labor conscription,
- the establishment of an iron dictatorship of reaction and the destruction of all the civil liberties and political rights of the people,
- the degradation of the living and working standards of the masses,
- the rearming and revitalization of German imperialism,
- the powerful strengthening of the capitalist front against the Soviet Union,
- the menacing accentuation of the danger of a new world war.

Already, acting with lightning speed, Hitler has unleashed a bloody murder cam-

paign all over the country, has practically banned the Communist Party and raided and seized its institutions, has prohibited both Communist and Social-democratic meetings, has suspended scores of labor newspapers, including the Communist "Rote Fahne" and the Social-democratic "Vorwaerts", has announced a "four-year plan" of labor conscription, involving the destruction of the trade unions, has already ruled off thirty of the smaller parties from the ballot. And the WAVE OF FASCIST REACTION HAS ONLY JUST BEGUN!

The triumph of Fascism uncovers the tragic situation in the German labor movement today. Disunited, demoralized, confused, misled, the powerful battalions of German labor stand helpless before their deadly foe. To the German Social-democracy, with its treacherous policy of coalition and "toleration", with its constant acceptance of the "lesser evil" to the point of

swallowing ever greater evils, falls the grave political responsibility of having disarmed the German workers and paved the way for Fascism. To the official Communist Party, with its refusal to recognize the menace of Fascism until the Nazis were at the gates of power, with its tactics of isolation, disunity and confusion, with its constant boastings of its parliamentary strength to the complete disregard of its pitiable weakness among the organized workers, falls the grave political responsibility of having failed to measure up to its role as the leading and uniting force in the German working class. Only the German Communist Opposition raised the alarm in time, calling upon all forces of labor to join in a united anti-Fascist front that would have checked the Nazi bid for power and scotched the Fascist menace before it had time to grow dangerous.

If Fascism is now permitted to consoli-

date its power without effective opposition, all the gains won thru years of hard struggle of the German workers will be destroyed and the masses reduced to a serf-like existence. If Fascism is permitted to consolidate its power without effective opposition, the wave of reaction sweeping the capitalist world will be tremendously strengthened and the workers discouraged and demoralized in their resistance. In a very real way, the fate of the workers of the world is bound up with the fate of the German masses under the dark shadow of triumphant Fascism.

The only effective challenge to the Fascist domination of Germany can come from a united fighting front of the German labor movement, sufficiently vigorous and inspiring to draw large sections of the lower middle classes into the anti-Fascist front. All obstacles in the way of such a united fighting front must be swept aside and its realization speeded before it is too late. The only way of hope open to the German masses today is: the unity of all labor forces for a great nation-wide political general strike, which alone can stop the triumphal onward march of Fascism. The Social-democratic workers, in their own self-defense, must smash the opposition of their reactionary leaders to a united labor front and a gen-

(Continued on page 2)

BRIGGS, HUDSON MEN STRIKE

Thousands Strike In Auto Body Plants

Detroit, Mich.

Three thousand automobile workers came out on strike on February 7 at the Hudson Motor Car Company's plant here. The demands of the strikers include an increase in all day-rate, hour-rate and piece-rate wages, extra overtime and holiday work payments, the 8-hour day and the 5-day week, etc.

About 10,000 workers in the four plants of the Briggs Manufacturing Corporation, makers of automobile bodies, here took part in a vigorous strike in protest against "dead time" (lost time for piece workers) and a recent series of vicious wage-cuts.

The strike proceeded very vigorously under a militant leadership in which some Communists were included. At a very early stage it tied up a large section of the auto industry, involving 150,000 workers. In spite of ruthless terror, on the one hand, and hollow "concessions" on the other, the strike is still proceeding in full swing, with the workers determined to win their demands.

The Briggs and Hudson strikes are of great significance, quite apart from their own size and ramifications, because they represent typical examples of those sporadic outbursts of militancy that might be united and raised to a higher level of organized resistance did the American labor movement have an effective and fighting leadership.

For the Freedom of Tom Mooney!

We reproduce on this page the stirring call of Tom Mooney for a great nation-wide FREE TOM MOONEY CONGRESS, under the auspices of the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, to plan the final fight for his freedom.

In the broad spirit of labor unity the call is addressed to every A. F. of L. union, local, district, state or national, to the railroad brotherhoods and all other labor unions, to all working class organizations, political, economic, defense, social, athletic, fraternal or cultural, and to all liberal organizations sympathetic to the workers. Only such a movement, with a scope extending far beyond any single party or tendency in the labor movement, is in a position to put up an effective fight for the release of Tom Mooney from a living grave!

The Communist Opposition enthu-

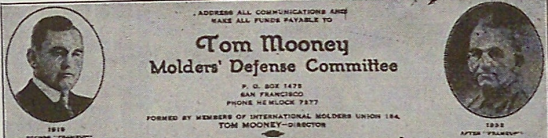
siastically endorses the call of Tom Mooney, addressed to it and other labor organizations, and pledges the most unstinted utilization of its resources and its energies to make the Free Tom Mooney Congress and the movement it represents a great success. It greets with especial satisfaction the genuinely broad united front character of the appeal.

It urges all trade unions and workers organizations, no matter what may be their present political viewpoints, to unite in the defense of Tom Mooney. The cause of Tom Mooney is the cause of all labor; Tom Mooney himself has become the symbol of labor struggling for the rights, the fight for his freedom can become the center around which the workers will rally in their desperate struggle against unemployment, wage-cuts and starvation.

The FREE TOM MOONEY CONGRESS will link my fight with every struggle of the workers. Now is the time when there is America's need to intensify the fight for the freedom of all class war prisoners, and against the ruthless intimidation and terrorization of workers regardless of race, creed, color or nationality. Every worker with a spark of militancy or revolutionary purpose or the smallest spark of self-respect, who is not a slave, who has a drop of red blood flowing in his veins, must now fight for his very life and that of his women and children. It is your duty and responsibility to take part in this struggle.

Governor Ralph, the tool of the labor-hating bankers and industrialists, has decreed that I die in prison. This decision is a deliberate and insolent challenge to the entire labor movement. This challenge must be met. It CAN and WILL be met by the FREE TOM MOONEY CONGRESS. The time has come when all organizations fighting for my freedom must be welded into the widest possible united front, whose might and aggressiveness will serve notice on my oppressors and jailers that my continued imprisonment will no longer be tolerated.

SELECT YOUR DELEGATES TO THE FREE TOM MOONEY CONGRESS! SET FOR CHICAGO, APRIL 30th TO MAY 2nd, 1933!



1919
1933

ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS AND MAKE ALL FUNDS PAYABLE TO
Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee
P. O. BOX 1478
SAN FRANCISCO
PHONE HEWIDCE 7877
FORMED BY MEMBERS OF INTERNATIONAL MOLDERS UNION 104
TOM MOONEY-DIRECTOR

Dear Comrades!

I hereby issue today, January 21, 1933, this call for a FREE TOM MOONEY CONGRESS, to be held at Chicago, April 30 to May 2, 1933, under the auspices of the Tom Mooney Molders' Defense Committee, to plan the final fight for my freedom. I appeal to every A. F. of L. union - local, district, state or national in its jurisdiction; to the railroad brotherhoods, and all other labor unions; to all working-class organizations - political, economic, defense, social, athletic, fraternal or cultural; and to all liberal organizations sympathetic to the workers, to select two delegates from every local, lodge or section to attend this Congress.

Labor in the United States is being shoved headlong into a state of peonage which even the coolies and chattel slaves never knew, while a few international bankers are becoming the uncrowned kings of the world. Because I fought such conditions with every fiber of my being and was framed by the scoundrels of the working-class for so doing, because I have become the symbol of labor struggling for the rights, the fight for my freedom can become the center around which the workers will rally in their desperate struggle against unemployment, wage-cuts and starvation.

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FORWARDED TO FRIENDS!
Tom Mooney
THE MOONEY

THIS COMMITTEE IS THE ONLY ORGANIZATION AUTHORIZED TO COLLECT FUNDS FOR THE DEFENSE OF TOM MOONEY

BIG LABOR MEET IN LONDON

100,000 Protest "Means Test" For Jobless

London, England.

The biggest labor demonstration London has ever seen was held on February 5 in Hyde Park here. Nearly one-hundred thousand workers took part in a huge demonstration called by the Labor party, the trade unions, and the cooperative movement, to protest against the ultra-reactionary policies of the MacDonald Tory government.

The demonstration was primarily against the hated "means test" for the unemployed. The resolution protested against wage-cuts, condemned changes in jobless insurance schedules, called for a 40-hour week, and urged a new trade agreement with the Soviet Union. Communist Party speakers set up platforms in Hyde Park and addressed the workers with the toleration of the Labor party leaders.

A decisive victory for the Fianna Fail party, President de Valera's organization, a victory that would have been a landslide but for the system of proportional representation, was the chief result of the Dail elections held on January 24. The pro-British Cosgrave Party, Cumann nan Gaedheal, lost considerably, while the Labor party won one seat. The recently organized Centre party, which set out to attract the peasants, could only muster ten seats.

The results of the Free State elections reflect the widespread unrest of the Irish workers, city lower middle classes and peasant masses and their demand for national liberation from the heel of British imperialism. The effect of the elections will certainly be to advance the struggle considerably.

On to Chicago, April 30 to May 2, 1933!

Join the Communist Opposition!

We publish below the statement of adherence to the Communist Opposition of Harry Fox, former member of the District Committee of the New York District of the Communist Party of the United States. Comrade Fox's experience,

as recounted in his statement, should show the way to the hundreds and thousands of old party members who have dropped away in disgust at the sectarian policies and intolerable regime dominating the movement today.—Editor.

STATEMENT OF HARRY FOX

February 1, 1933.
Enclosed you will find my application for membership in the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Opposition).

Almost three years ago, together with hundreds of other comrades, I was expelled from the Communist Party of the U. S. A. for resisting the sectarian line which the Communist International was putting into effect in the Communist parties thruout the world.

The resistance offered by these comrades to this new line is fully justified by events today. The party today stands more isolated from the American workers than ever in its history. The party is weaker numerically and organizationally today than it was before adopting the new line. It has less members than it had before it expelled the founders and most experienced leaders of our party.

Despite the most favorable conditions, despite the attacks of the capitalist class upon the organizations and standards of living of the workers, the official Communist Party stands condemned today for the divisions existing within the ranks of the Communist movement and also, thru its false sectarian line, it hinders the united front of the working class against the attacks of the bourgeoisie. Its policy of organizing dual unions and abandoning work in the conservative unions, has completely segregated it into a sect without influence upon the course of events in this country.

How does the present leadership of the party explain the fact that, after four years of most favorable conditions for the growth of the party, it has today less members than it had prior to the new line? How does it explain the fact that today the party controls and leads no mass organizations of workers?

The dual unions that the party claims to control today (National Miners Union, Needle Workers Industrial Union, etc.) are nothing but paper organizations. They include only Communist and very few even close sympathizers. Their main function seems to be to split mass unions, to call opposition strikes when the A. F. of L. unions call strikes, to divide the unity of the workers and to withdraw every worker from the existing unions as soon as he becomes sympathetic to the Communist movement.

Within the party itself there is absolute stagnation. No discussion on fundamental questions is permitted by the clique leadership which hands down all orders from above without consideration of issues by the membership. The leadership of the party has been narrowed down to a small group of comrades who brook no honest discussions on the part of the party members. For anyone to raise any question which is not in full agreement with the present line is to be branded as a "renegade" and expelled from the party. To merely question or doubt is to invite

expulsion.
Since the expulsion of the leading comrades (Lovestonites) from the party, they have, thru the Communist Party (Opposition), carried on a consistent struggle for maintaining the correct line of the present official Communist movement.
Comrades, Ever since I was expelled from the party I have not been connected with our movement. I offer no excuse or justification for my staying away. I am one of the many old party members who grew disgusted and demoralized with the tactics of the party and simply stayed away.

I appeal to these countless party members and sympathizers who long for the correction of the party line, to join the ranks of the Communist Party (Opposition) which today stand unswervingly for the unity of the Communist movement and for the return of the party to the Leninist line.

HARRY FOX

800 PROFESSORS FOR SOVIET RECOGNITION

Washington, D. C.

Over eight hundred college professors of this country have signed their names to a petition addressed to President-elect Roosevelt urging the immediate diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States government. These eight hundred professors come from 268 colleges in forty-five states. The petition movement was initiated by the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

It is characteristic of the utterly reactionary character of the American Federation of Labor that, on the same day that these liberal scholars and educators issued their appeal for Soviet recognition, Mr. William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, reiterated the bitter-end anti-Soviet position of the A. F. of L. officials, opposing recognition at all costs. But it will not be long before the awakening membership of the A. F. of L. will make these reactionary officials eat their words on Soviet recognition just as they have already done on compulsory government jobless insurance.

The World of Labor

Split Looming in Socialist Party

New York City.

The struggle of tendencies within the Socialist party has grown noticeably sharper in the last few weeks and signs are not absent of an approaching split. The conflict at the present stage centers around the trade union question. The ultra-opportunistic Hillquit-Onal wing, officially leading the party today, has been conducting an extremely conservative course in the trade unions, bowing down abjectly before the reactionary anti-Socialist A. F. of L. bureaucracy, opposing all signs of progressive and left wing opposition in the unions. Even siding with the racketeer elements in some cases (Moving Picture Operators Local 306, etc.)—and all under the cloak of the threadbare theory of "neutrality"! The Thomas wing, which, in alliance with Western Populist—"Socialism" and the Milwaukee brand of municipal reformism, is in substantial control of the party, has taken a position essentially corresponding to its petty bourgeois radical character: against racketeering, for clean, honest, "progressive" unionism but also more or less explicitly in favor of dual unionism and union splitting "in some cases." The "Militants," here as everywhere deluded by the radical phraseology of Thomas, are captives in the train of the Thomas faction.

At the recent session of the N.E.C. of the S.P. in Baltimore, Hillquit's deciding vote as National Chairman defeated Thomas's proposal for the endorsement of the dualist Progressive Miners of America. Certain trade unionists (such as Jasper McLevy of Connecticut), otherwise supporters of Thomas, voted against his proposals because of their dual unionist character. Only a few weeks after the action of the N.E.C., Thomas publicly announced his determination to flout the decision of the party committee and proceeded to Illinois for a series of meetings. The "Thomas case" is now before the party committee for action at its next meeting.

Meanwhile the battle between the S.P. Labor Committee, headed by Samuel Beardsley, the instrument of the Hillquit faction, and the Thomas forces, operative mainly thru the League for Industrial Democracy and the various relief bodies, is taking on acute form. Beardsley has accused Thomas of "interfering" in union matters and of "helping the Communists." On the other hand, McAlister Coleman, Thomas spokesman, has sharply criticized the Labor Committee and its destructive activities, characterizing the Hillquit faction as a "small clique of party jobholders who have taken over the technique of the reactionary labor leaders."

At the New York City convention of the Young People's Socialist League during the week-ends of January 28-29 and February 4-5, the trade union question played a big role. Here the Thomas faction was triumphant. (A full report

of the Y.P.S.L. convention will appear in the "Age" in the next issue.—Editor).

Of course, neither side has adopted a really revolutionary Socialist, i.e., Marxist, position which is: to fight with all energies against the reactionary officialdom but at the same time to resist all tendencies to dualism and union splitting.

More Resignations From The C. P. L. A.

The disintegration of the Conference of Progressive Labor Action, as a consequence of its suicidal decision to transform itself into a centrist semi-revolutionary party (sect), is proceeding apace. David Sappos, Katherine Pollack and J. C. Kennedy, important figures in the C.P.L.A., have resigned from that organization.

RESULTS OF THE 1932 ELECTIONS

The votes cast for the Socialist, Socialist Labor and Communist parties in the recent presidential elections, as officially tabulated, are:

Socialist	906,900
Communist	102,785
S. L. P.	34,024

The Communist vote came primarily from six states. New York with 27,956, Illinois with 15,528, Michigan with 9,318, Minnesota with 6,101, Ohio with 7,231 and Pennsylvania with 5,658, contributed 71,792 of the total. The remaining 30,993 were scattered over the other states. The Socialist vote was much more widely distributed.

In spite of the doubling of the Communist vote as against 1928, the elections must be regarded as a serious setback for the Communist Party, not only because the sharpening of the general political situation provided the possibility of a much more substantial increase (it must be remembered that Browder "expected" at least a million votes) but also because the relation of forces between the S. P. and the C. P. in the labor vote changed very materially in favor of the Socialists. In 1928 the vote was (in round numbers) 270,000 for the S. P. and 50,000 for the C. P. The proportion of C. P. to S. P. votes was thus about 1:5. In 1932 this proportion changed to 1:9. The Socialist vote in other words, grew nearly twice as fast as the Communist vote.

The Liberty party, headed by W. H. ("Coin") Harvey, polled 53,446 votes.

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For trade unionists \$1.00 — Single admission 25c

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Association of the Unemployed

BARTER—A WAY OUT FOR THE JOBLESS?

HITLER IS IN POWER—WHAT NOW?

(Continued from page 1)

eral strike. The Communist workers must force their leaders to drop their suicidal sectarianism and take the initiative in cementing a united front of labor.

The triumph of Fascism in Germany and the impotent consternation with which the official Communist Party in Germany and the whole official world Communist movement have met this disaster, constitute the great historical refutation of the false sectarian policies which have dominated the official Communist movement for years and against which the International Communist Opposition has been fighting with all its might. It is not yet too late to learn. In the spirit of real Communist self-criticism, let the Communist International now reexamine its policies and tactics in the

light of what is happening in Germany; let it take effective steps for the restoration of a Leninist course and for the unification of the world Communist movement. This is the least that the interests of the world revolution demand of it. The fate of the German Communist Party, the only mass party in the Communist International outside of the Soviet Union, is at stake and with it the fate of the Communist International itself!

The triumph of Fascism in Germany places great responsibilities upon the revolutionary workers of this country and upon labor as a whole. Not a moment must be lost now in uniting all sections of the labor movement and in drawing in all liberal elements to voice a resounding protest against the menace of Fascism and to rally in support and relief of the constantly increasing number of the victims of the Nazi terror in Germany.

The Nazis Take Power - What Now?

Significance of the Hitler Victory

by Jay Lovestone

Hitler's rise to the chancellorship of Germany is not an ordinary change of cabinets or shift of cabinet portfolios. It marks the beginning of a change of political systems. With Hitler's assumption of chancellorship the world witnessed the first decisive and open step of German trust capital to replace the broken down parliamentary democratic system with an uncamouflaged brutal bourgeois dictatorship—a Fascist dictatorship.

The Breakup Of A System

When the Catholic Bruening succeeded Social-democrat Mueller, it meant a change of cabinets, a very important development in the decay of parliamentary democracy. When Papen displaced Bruening and Schleicher succeeded Papen it marked extraordinary cabinet changes and a heading move towards the breakup of the bourgeois republican system.

It is true, history is not made in a day. But there are days on which history is made. July 20, 1932 is one of those days. It was on this day that the Socialist-Catholic Cabinet of Prussia was yanked out by a corporal and two men of the Reichswehr. The failure of the working class to take any steps to resist and paralyze this Junker-militarist coup d'etat meant a mortal blow against the republic and made almost inevitable all the events which followed subsequently.

Today Germany lives under a Fascist dictatorship. From the viewpoint of even the most elementary prerequisites of capitalist democracy, the March 5 elections will be a grim farce. After this election, the parade of parties is over in Germany. From what I have seen of German Fascism, I am convinced that, unless the working class really closes its ranks and presents a united front against Fascism, the Nazi dictatorship will, in a few months, do as much damage to the German labor movement as it took Mussolini a couple of years. And this is so, despite the fact that the German

proletariat is much better trained and organized than the Italian was when Mussolini's Black Shirts swooped down on Rome.

To us, the International Communist Opposition, Hitler's rise to power comes as no surprise. Already in 1928, the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition) warned of the Fascist menace and proposed a practical program of revolutionary activity to make impossible a Fascist dictatorship in Germany. For this, our German comrades were roundly denounced by the official Communist leadership (Thaelmann-Neumann). The latter ridiculed the menace of Fascism and estimated every successive Fascist victory as a "high watermark" of Hitlerism. The official C. P. hailed every one of its own parliamentary advances as "iron rings around Fascism." The Social-democrats swung from Hindenburg and the Supreme Court to General von Schleicher as saviors of German "democracy and Socialism" from the Fascist sweep.

False Prophecies

The liberals and bourgeois democrats through the world simply sneered at Hitler and said that such an "emotionally unstable" person could never become the leader of that great cultured country, Germany. All together they hailed every momentary recession of the Fascist wave, every difficulty within the Fascist movement, as the "collapse" and the "total disintegration" of the Nazi party. These people, basing their analysis on temporary and superficial phenomena, concluded that the republic was invincible, that the waves of Hitlerism were broken on that rock of "pure German democracy"—Field Marshal von Hindenburg.

How wrong such conclusions were is now obvious. The fact of the matter is that the parliamentary results have for some time played a secondary role in German class

relations. For some time it is the extra-parliamentary moves which have become decisive. Why is it that Hitler was called in to become Chancellor after a series of set-

Appeal for United Front!

New York City.

An appeal for the establishment of a united front anti-Fascist movement in this country "for the purpose of bringing home to the American workers the real meaning of the Nazi victory for them and the danger of the spread of Fascist influence in the United States and for the purpose of rallying to the relief and support of the victims of the bloody Nazi terror in Germany," was issued on February 7 by the National Committee of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. (Opposition) to the leading committees of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., the Socialist Party of America, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and the Communist League ("Trotskyites"). "We make this appeal to you," the statement runs, "in spite of the well-known fact that we differ from some of the organizations addressed in this call in fundamental principles and from others in basic strategy and tactics. . . . We believe, however, that in spite of these differences, we can all join on the basis of the program and tasks outlined above, which is surely to the interests of all of us and to the interests of American labor. We are confident that, if you place the interests of labor above any secondary considerations, you will not hesitate to respond to this call."

N. Y. WORKERS HIT NAZI RULE

New York City

About six hundred workers filled the large hall in Irving Plaza on Friday evening, February 3, to hear Jay Lovestone present the viewpoint of the International Communist Opposition on the political crisis in Germany which set in with the ascendancy of Hitler to power. The spirit of the meeting was very high and reflected a keen appreciation of the menace of the situation and a vigorous determination to help the German workers fight back before it is too late.

Comrade Lovestone, who recently returned from a trip to Germany, analyzed the relation of class forces that had made possible the triumph of Fascism, severely scoring the treacherous policies of the Social-democrats and the false sectarian tactics of the official Communist Party, both of which must bear the responsibility for the inability of German labor to head off and scotch Fascism. The speaker concluded by outlining the program of the German Communist Opposition calling for a united labor front and a political general strike.

There were a good many party members and Trotskyites present who participated in the questions and discussions. A collection was taken for the relief of the victims of the Nazi terror in Germany.

poor, interest was low. The reasons are to be found in the sectarian approach to the whole plan. There were no attempts made to organize systematically, the Hunger Marchers being apparently determined to preserve the aristocratic front which is the "right" of only those others, including the unemployed, being considered outside the pale.

W. M.

backs in Reichstag, provincial and communal elections? Why is it that, even after the serious crisis in the Fascist party occasioned by the defection of Gregor Strasser, Hitler's ablest lieutenant, the German bourgeoisie could do nothing else but entrust Hitler, that is, the Nazi party, with decisive power, with the dominant position?

The answer to these questions is to be found in the changing class relations in Germany. Capitalism, which has reached a most critical stage of disequilibrium, Papen's much heralded economic program, Schleicher's much advertised "settlement scheme", failed miserably not only to allay working class unrest but failed even to lessen the sharpening conflict of interests between the East Prussian landowners, the Junkers, and the biggest trust capitalists. The Junker-militarist clique, which seized power in Germany thru the Papen coup d'etat, could not bring about either economic equilibrium or a balanced relationship between the powerful agrarian groups and the Ruhr and Rhineland industrialists and financiers.

Fascism To The Rescue

The sentiment for Communism was rising. The economic situation was worsening. The conflicts in the ruling section of the German governing class assumed ugly proportions. Clearly there was only one thing left for the German top bourgeoisie to do, and that was to apply its very last remedy to stave off disaster and social revolution—the introduction of Fascism. This meant that both the wealthy landowners and the heavy industrialists would be satisfied at the expense of further attacks on the masses. But these attacks could not be made only with the Reichswehr bayonets. To launch such a bloody offensive against the toiling masses of Germany meant that the

Reichswehr bayonets would have to be supported by and rest up on a huge mass base. Only the Nazis could supply such a mass base and the proud aristocrats would have to play second fiddle to the Nazis whom they but yesterday called "upstarts" and "rowdies." Thus came the reestablishment of the ultra-reactionary Harzburg front, that is, the Nazi-Nationalist (Hitler-Hugenburg) block and the installation of a Fascist regime. It is only with such mass support that the German bourgeoisie could continue to rule today, could attempt to extend the life of capitalism thru further assaults on the standards of the working class.

A Major Defeat!

No one can exaggerate the historical significance of the victory of Fascism in Germany. Germany is the key to continental Europe. The working class of the world and not merely the German proletariat have suffered a major and disastrous defeat. The Communist International and the entire international proletariat are now paying a heavy price of years of ruinous sectarian tactics hidden by occasional, really insignificant victories in Germany. Great thanks must of course first of all be paid to the treacherous role of the German Social-democracy. For the Communist International the crisis within its ranks assumes new and most serious proportions. We are in danger of facing a situation in which the Comintern will not have a single mass party in the entire capitalist world. We are on the eve of days which will bring staggering blows to the international working class thru the annihilation of the German labor movement, the trade unions, political parties, cooperatives and all social and cultural organizations of the working class. For the Soviet Union the danger of war assumes most menacing proportions, not so much in the sense of an immediate German military onslaught as rather in the growing probability of Fascist Germany becoming the spearhead of a

(Continued on Page 7)

The Hunger March in Canada

A Letter From Toronto

Toronto, Canada.

Chapter one in the Hunger March drama opened in Toronto one week before the scheduled date. The Red squad raided the Ukrainian Labor Temple and arrested about forty-five unemployed, participants in an unemployed meeting. George Baker and Howard Johnson (James Beatty) are charged under Section 98 of the Canadian criminal code. All the rest are held as vagrants. All are on bail. The police, whose ears are keener than their wits, claim that they overheard the men being advised to smash the police and start a riot.

The second chapter was unfolded when the provincial delegation waited on the Acting Prime Minister at the Parliament building in Toronto. The dozen delegates were all quizzed as to their nationality, citizenship, address, and so on. Scores of police were on deck. In answer to the standard demands, the Acting Prime Minister promised the usual "careful consideration." The city delegation which waited on the mayor and the city council produced a few more fireworks. Perhaps I should say squibs.

Described as the "stormiest scene in the city hall in some time" there was a good deal of verbal fighting between the mayor and Bill Kisby, the unemployed spokesman. Howard Johnson refused to admit he had been in "trouble" in Windsor, Detroit and Winnipeg. Declaring that his name was none of the mayor's business, Johnson left the chamber. Consideration of the taxpayers would not permit the payment of rents, declared the mayor. He also upheld the present foggy system of relief, which compels the recipients to go and collect the trash handed out to them. The deputization was finally ordered from the City Hall.

The comrades put up a good scrap—as a scrap. But doesn't leadership of the unemployed demand something more than swallowing the mayor's red herring of Russia? When the mayor asked the comrades Kisby (Hilda Kisby was a delegate), did they know of a better country, then they could go to it, both retorted "Russia!" But going to Russia will not help the unemployed in Canada. The comrades should demand: Why can not Canada feed a population of less than ten millions? Canada is one of the richest countries in the world. Minerals abound. The elevators are full to overflowing and the current crop is being burned for fuel. But no need to list the natural resources of the Dominion. We must at all times drive home to the unemployed that private ownership of the means of wealth production stands between the jobless and security. And even mayors may be used to drive this fact home. Trade with Russia is a legitimate slogan. We must defend the U.S.S.R. and hail its achievements under the dictatorship of the workers and peasants. But it is surely necessary to focus attention upon the home situation.

Demonstrations were held thru-out the Dominion. The twenty who went to the capital (Ottawa) were received by Premier Bennett, who assured the delegation once again that he was opposed to the "introduction of the Soviet system into Canada." Beyond the breaking of a few heads in Nelson, B.C., and the seizing of a few banners in Winnipeg, the demonstrations were peaceful. Attendances were

Jobless Federation Formed

For One National Jobless Organization

Chicago, Ill.

On the weekend of November 19-20, 1932, a conference of Mid-western unemployed organizations took place in Chicago and set up a Federation of Unemployed Leagues of America. Forty-four delegates, representing over thirty unemployed organizations in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Missouri, Michigan, Iowa and Texas, were present. Organizations in nine other states, Minnesota, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Kentucky, Tennessee, Washington, and Massachusetts, indicated a willingness to cooperate but could not send delegates. The conference was sponsored by the Chicago Workers Committee on Unemployment, under the leadership of Karl Borders, and by the Unemployed Citizens League of St. Louis.

The conference adopted resolutions against the "stagger system," against child labor and the sales tax. The main planks in the platform of minimum demands adopted are: (1) A system of social insurance to include unemployment compensation, old age pensions and sick benefits based on contributions by the government and employers. (2) In the administration of unemployment relief, . . . immediate cash payment in such sums as will ensure an adequate American standard of living necessarily to include provision for water, fuel and light. (3) The maintenance of health and hygienic conditions among the unemployed . . . to include medical, dental and hospital care provided by governmental agencies. (4) No evictions. (5) No farmer to be deprived, because of natural or economic con-

ditions, of the use of the home which he occupies of the land and equipment essential to the earning of his living. (6) Adequate representation of the unemployed on all relief-dispensing agencies. (7) The union scale of wages for all unemployed workers put to work on public or private projects. (8) This federation takes a non-partisan political stand."

The conference decided to initiate a drive to broaden the federation into a national organization and plans were laid for a nation-wide convention of the unemployed organization to be held in May 1933.

The movement for the national unification of all unemployed organizations on a strictly non-partisan basis is greatly to be welcomed. The Federation of Unemployed Leagues of America, formed in Chicago, marks a big step in this direction and the national conference in May will probably mark further progress. But so far, this movement suffers from a grave shortcoming for as yet it includes only those unemployed organizations that are under Socialist influence (Karl Borders is a leading figure in the League for Industrial Democracy) or at least with which some Socialists have contact. That section of the unemployed movement standing under the influence of the official Communist Party is still working in isolation, refusing to cooperate on a real non-partisan basis with the other sections of the movement. But for the struggle of the jobless to be really effective, the unification of all unemployed organizations, of all political tendencies or none at all, must be accomplished on the basis of a minimum program of action. All militant elements in the labor movement and among the unemployed should turn their energies in this direction.

Lucile Kohn On Feb. 12, 228 - 2nd Ave.
"Education and Women"

Technocracy and the Workers

The Newest "Substitute" for Communism

by Herbert Zam

Technocracy is a fad. Like all fads it is a product of its times. Although it was born in the boom period, it did not receive any serious attention until the economic crisis had lasted several years, when it suddenly caught hold and began to spread like wildfire. And precisely here lies the key to its success. Technocracy "reveals" the "secret" of the crisis. In the period of the boom, another kind of revelation was needed—the "secret" of prosperity and high wages. Just as, several years ago, delegations came from all the world to study this mystery, so today the secret of the crisis is being sought in the United States. The technocrats desire to save these searchers their trouble, just as their predecessors did in the days of prosperity. In the last analysis, the two explanations are the same. Prosperity was due to rationalization, mass production, class collaboration. The depression is due to the high development of technology! The very factors which yesterday were being pined for as the creators of permanent prosperity are today discovered to be the source of all evil. And particularly, it is largely the same people who made both discoveries. This is no accident. Technocracy and the championship of rationalization, mass production, class collaboration represent two sides of the same coin. During prosperity, the head is on top; during a crisis, the tail shows itself. If the cure-all of rationalization, mass production, class collaboration, represented the jazz of prosperity, then the cure-all of technocracy represents the blues of the depression!

The New And The Old

A great deal of "criticism" of technocracy has been based on the proposition that there is nothing new in it. If this were the sole cause for criticism it would be little enough. It is true that there is quite a good deal in technocracy which is old, but unquestionably it contains many new ideas. And the relation seems to be that the good ideas are the old ones, while the new ideas are the bad ones. In the system of technocracy as a whole, it is unfortunately what is new and bad, which gives it its determining character, making the entire system unacceptable in spite of some positive features.

Although they have nothing but scorn for Marx and Marxism, the technocrats have not hesitated to "borrow" two outstanding ideas from it which they now endeavor to parade as brand new discoveries. One of the cardinal points of Marxism is the doctrine that the social relations in capitalist society have become incompatible with the forces of production, that, consequently, capitalism, which at one time served the historic function of developing the forces of production and advancing the progress of society, has now become a hindrance to the further expansion of the productive forces and stands in the way of the further progress of humanity. The destruction of the capitalist system and its replacement by a socialist order is the conclusion of Marxism, since social relations in a socialist system would be in harmony with productive forces, and would make their continued progress possible. The technocrats have now accepted the analysis of Marx, without, however, drawing his conclusions. Like the radicals, the technocrats have now discovered that if our means of production were operated rationally, everything could be produced in such great abundance and it would be possible to provide everybody with all life's needs and plenty over. They have even reached the figure that with a rationally operated system, every family could receive the equivalent of a \$20,000 a year income from eight hours work each week! Regardless of whether some of the figures of the technocrats are exaggerated or not (and there are many errors, contradictions, exaggerations and false conclusions in their figures), there can be no challenging the general direction in which these figures point. As such, they can only serve to strengthen the

Marxian doctrines. The adherence of engineers and scientists to such views lends them added authority. It becomes more difficult to dismiss them as "Red" agitation. Communists, Socialists, radicals generally, should not hesitate to use the support of these ideas by the technocrats for the purpose of making their propaganda more widespread and convincing.

Why, then, do the technocrats fail to draw the same conclusions as the Marxists from these two general propositions? Why do they present us with a mechanical and reactionary utopia as the solution to our problems? Technocracy, the brain-child of engineers, endeavors to fit society into the strait-jacket of engineering (physical) laws. Society operates not on the basis of physical laws, as the technocrats maintain, but on the basis of social-historical laws, as the Marxists have demonstrated. "The captains of industry are, as it were, defying the laws of physics!" exclaims Stuart Chase, one of the spokesmen of technocracy. He gives the concrete example: "The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, in trying to keep railroad debts intact, is in the last analysis defying the laws of physics!" Stuart Chase declares the second of the three principles of the "industrial philosophy of technocracy" to be "the conception of energy mag-

nitudes as the conditions governing social and political institutions." This concept leaves out of the picture the really essential element—class (social) relations. Marxists do not and never have denied the influence of technological development on society. But they have studied, not the abstract, isolated, independent development of the purely physical means of production, but the interaction between this development and the society in which it takes place. Technological development has influenced history because it has influenced class relations and social organization. Not to understand this is to understand nothing of society. The technocrats, who disdain to examine any laws except physical laws, the laws of engineering, forget the class struggle, abolish the working class and overlook the capitalist class—because that is the only way they can produce their utopia, technocracy.

Technocracy And The Workers

Between the technocrats and their mechanistic, sit-in-a-soft-chair-and-push-a-button utopia, there stands the working class, real, alive, with its demands, its organizations, its struggles, its enemies and its friends. What to do with

it? Many a bourgeois and also "Socialist" economist, in trying to refute Marx, has smashed his head upon the Gibraltar-firm doctrine of the industrial worker as the bearer of social change in modern society, one of the cardinal points in the Marxian system. A feature of all petty bourgeois reformism is contempt and disdain for the working class in one form or another, a search for other forces to change society. The technocrats do not find it necessary even to discuss the working class as a force; they have solved this problem by the simple expedient of abolishing the workers! A class which does not exist can play no historic role. That is clear! And to technocracy, the working class does not exist any longer, except as an unnecessary survival, here and there, or as a historic memory. "Technology," writes a reporter in a newspaper, "has emancipated the worker in the same manner that the gasoline engine emancipated the mule—made him unnecessary." A glance at the writings of the leading exponents of technocracy reveals that this was no cub reporter's exaggeration, but a plain statement of technocracy's opinion. "In every industry technology has swept away the human worker," exclaims Howard Scott, the father of technocracy. Stuart Chase, another

technocrat, describes this process at length:

"The tendency in manufacturing and power production, and to a lesser degree in transportation, agriculture and clerical work, is in the direction of the full automatic process, where the machine does everything, the human machine does nothing. Such labor as is required increasingly takes the form of dial watching, control cabin work, switch inspection and set up. Even in this domain the photo-electric cell has been found to be a more dependable switch thrower than any human hand or eye."

So the steel worker, the automobile worker, the printer, the workers in the meat packing industry, only have the illusion that they are doing hard physical labor. Actually they are either not working at all or are, at worst, watching the dial. The fate of the working class is sealed. "The curve," says Chase, "heads remorselessly for zero." And with the curve, the technocrats have tried to head the living working class also for zero.

It requires no higher mathematics to destroy this foundation of technocracy. A glance at the census reports will show that there are in the United States eighteen to twenty million industrial wage earners, to say nothing of other wage earners (agricultural laborers, white collar workers, etc.), that the working class has been steadily increasing, absolutely in numbers and relatively in proportion to the size of the population. Even

(Continued on Page 7)

Against Sectarianism and Isolation

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE "NEW TURN"

A Statement

We publish below the political statement issued by the National Committee of the Communist Party (Opposition) on the recent "new turn" manoeuvres of the official C. P.—Editor.

The recent conference of unemployed organizations and other labor bodies in Chicago against the threatened cut in relief and the movement now under way in New York for a state-wide conference for government unemployment insurance, both initiated under the direction of the Communist Party, call striking attention to the definite "turn" that has taken place in the last few months in the official party tactics in regard to the united front and the organization of the unemployed. It is necessary for all Communists and advanced workers to understand this "turn" and to grasp its real significance in order to be able to estimate its implications for the future of the Communist struggle.

The Main Elements Of The Turn

In the tactics of the official Communist Party in both of the above mentioned movements, there are the following main elements of a "turn" away from the ultra-leftist, sectarian system that has dominated the activity of the party for four years and still continues to dominate it:

- In each case there was a united front of organizations of different political tendencies. In other words, they were real united fronts, even though the New York preliminary conference was a very narrow one. The tactics applied in both cases are in the most glaring contradiction to the notorious "united front from below," according to which a joint block of Communist and non-Communist, and especially reformist or conservative, organizations is the very height of opportunism, according to which a united front of the leaders of Communist organizations with the leaders of non-Communist organizations (as occurred in Chicago) is to be rejected as the worst deviation. For advocating the tactics that were partially applied by the official C.P. in Chicago and New York, the Communist Opposition has been viciously attacked and abused for years.
- The fantastic theory that all

non-Communist (reformist or conservative) organizations, but especially the American Federation of Labor, are "fascist" or "social-fascist" bodies, was given the lie by the *practise* of both conferences, primarily of the New York gathering. Here A. P. of L. locals, constituent parts of an alleged "fascist" or "social-fascist" organization, were not only invited and admitted but even boasted about! In Chicago, an organization (Workers Committee on Unemployment) controlled by the Socialist party was invited and seated. Here too an important tactic, defended by the Communist Opposition, has been silently embodied in official party practise.

- In the New York conference, no attempt was made by the party to pack the gathering with swollen delegations of party-controlled skeleton or paper organizations. In Chicago, however, the old bluff tactics held sway.

- In New York, and partly in Chicago, the programs of action proposed were really minimum programs acceptable to all elements in the movement.

- In the New York conference, the Communist Opposition as well as the Trotskyites were admitted to representation, their proposals heard and considered and some of our proposals were even accepted. At this conference, too, the accustomed atmosphere of abuse was ab-

sent. This was not the case, however, in Chicago.

The Real Meaning Of The "New Turn"

Nevertheless, this "turn" represents no real or basic change in the tactics of the official Communist Party nor does it hold out any promise of the effective return of party tactics to the course of Leninism.

- The "turn" is performed in an underhand and isolated manner, while at the same time the whole system of ultra-leftist tactics is maintained sacred and inviolable by the party and all deviations attacked and persecuted. The case of Comrade Verblin of Chicago, who tried to draw the logical consequences of the partial "turn" and was therefore abused as the bearer of "Verblinism," the new form of opportunism, is to the point. No significant change in tactics is possible without clearly recognizing the fundamental falseness of the general tactical course of the party and the necessity of revising it openly and thoroughly. Any partial "turns" conducted on the background of the old ultra-leftist system can lead only to a deepening of the confusion and ideological demoralization dominant today. What else can be the result of preaching the "united front from below" and yet forming joint blocks with the leaders of non-Communist organizations, of preaching the doctrine of "social-fascism" and yet entering into united fronts with the Socialist party organizations and the A. F. of L.?

- The new "turn" is being performed on a system of the crudest double-bookkeeping. In the general work of the party, the old sectarian tactics are being pursued without the least change—this is notoriously true of some of the most important party campaigns, as, for example, the recent Hunger March. In one or two specially selected fields, experiments in new "turns" are carried on at the very same time. It is very obvious that the net result of this curious combination is to make even more difficult the absolutely necessary basic change in tactics.

- Even where a "turn" is performed, it is done in an incomplete

and self-contradictory manner, which sometimes destroys even its limited effectiveness. In Chicago, for example, the Socialist unemployed organization was invited but deliberate attempts were made at the conference itself, by Wil-

liamson and others, to provoke its leaders to break away (see the article on "Why A United Jobless Movement?" by B. Herman, "Workers Age," February 1, 1933). In Chicago, too, attempts were made by the Communist Party-controlled Unemployed Councils to convert the united front demonstration arranged by the conference into a Communist election rally. At the New York conference, the resolutions committee was composed entirely of party members.

- Even where a "turn" is performed, it is done in such an inadequate and limited manner as to render it almost meaningless. In Chicago, for example, a united front conference of unemployed organizations was held. But what does such a united front really mean, if it is not undertaken as a prelude to and in the light of a merging or fusion of all unemployed organizations (organizations all fighting for the same end and without difference of principle) into one non-partisan body? But this is still rejected as gross opportunism by the official party. (In this connection, see the article mentioned above.)

- While these "turns" are being performed, the Communist Opposition, from whose armory these new tactics were borrowed and under the stimulus of whose criticism they were initiated, is being attacked even more vigorously by the official party press—precisely for proposing, consistently, thoroughly and unhesitatingly, just those tactics that the official Communist party is applying, partially, uncertainly, and in a contradictory manner, in its new "turns."

The only real and effective turn in party tactics must be a return to the tactical principles of Leninism, today defended only by the Communist Opposition. And this return to Leninist tactics can take place, not thru the piling up of dishonestly performed new turns, but by a conscious and deliberate and thoro scrapping of the whole of the sectarian course, root and branch, and an equally conscious, deliberate and thoro reapplication of the tactical principles of Leninism, everywhere and in all fields. Any other way can only lead further into the abyss!

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Chewing on Straw - Party Theory

The "Communist" for One Year

by Bertram D. Wolfe

The "theoretical" organ of the Communist Party of the United States is the "Communist". The masses of Communists and sympathetic workers are hungry for theory and explanation, but it is poor fare indeed the party press provides.

The Party In Wonderland

The writers of the articles in the "Communist" live in an unreal world that never was on land and sea. Here is the January 1933 number. It speaks of "left sectarianism which leads to passivity, to refusal to participate in revolutionary struggle to a capitulation before Social-democracy."

"Is Social-democracy then the main force holding sway over the workers of America?" the reader might ask. "Or did not the millions support capitalism directly in the persons of Roosevelt and Hoover as recently as November, 1932?" Why, the reader is forgetting the "growth of the revolutionary upsurge" for such is the description of the discontent and resistance!

"The Communists need only to exert even the slightest efforts and the leadership will fall into their hands," writes S. Gussev, leader of the American secretariat of the Communist International. Yes, leader, he is referring to America. His test is certainly not the size of the Communist vote, nor the diminishing numbers in the party-controlled unions and unemployed councils,* nor the failure of the party membership to grow during over three years of crisis, nor the loss of influence in the organized labor movement. Apparently Comrade Gussev has other sources of information denied to the rest of us!

"We have now a new flow of revolution," concludes Gussev. (This time he is not talking about America). "But for England and the U. S. A.," he adds, "this victory (of revolution) is only possible if these four fundamental tasks are carried out; the destruction of social-fascism, the formation of a mass political army, the conversion of the party into the fighting staff of this army, and the formation of a strong general staff. Why is the destruction of the Social-democracy put first? The United States is not Germany. In the United States the Social-democracy has not the main influence over the workers but the Democratic and Republican parties have. The main task, the separation of the workers from the openly capitalist parties, is not even hinted at! A mere trifle—not to be mentioned! Certainly not among the "four fundamental tasks" to be carried out to make "victory possible."

Mountains Out Of Mole Hills

We pick up the October issue—Jack Stachel writing. "The strike of the steel workers in the Trumbull mill of the Republic Steel in Warren is of outstanding significance, altho it lasted but a little over a day and involved comparatively a small number of workers."

"A little over a day"—but that doesn't prevent Stachel from writing thirteen pages, well over 5,000 words about it! Perhaps Stachel is going to show that it is "significant" for the errors involved. Vain hope! First, this strike shows unmistakably the great depth of the radicalization of the masses! Secondly, it proves that the native-born workers are ready to accept the leadership of the party and the revolutionary trade union movement!

The Secret Of Sectarianism

The "Communist" is presumably addressed to the American workers. True, it is addressed to the advanced workers and treats at times problems of a complicated character requiring special technical terms. But there are limits—or should be, if one wishes to talk to any one but himself. Take, for instance, "sectarianism." It is a technical term and an important one. It means the tendency to act

like a sect, to isolate the party from the masses by proposing a program far to the left of the masses, far removed from their immediate needs and interests. But what shall we think of this gem?

"The real nature of this sectarianism (in America) consists in a right opportunist lagging behind the mass movement." (Article by Gussev, "The End of Capitalist Stabilization and the Basic Tasks of the British and American Sections of the C. I., January 1933).

Are we to conclude that sectarianism is opportunism? Then why two terms? Are the masses so revolutionary in America, that the party's tactics and program lag behind them? And is this sectarianism? "Oh Bottom, thou art translated!"

"Marxian" Analysis

In the May 1932 number, Earl Browder, "leading theoretician of the Communist International" (as a recent party leaflet proclaimed), indulges in some personal "self-criticism." But the reader will seek in vain to find out what he is criticizing. According to Browder, the attempt to get the United States government to break off diplomatic relations with Japan (a step which a bourgeois government normally takes toward another as a prelude to a declaration of war) was not a serious error of the party but "a real Bolshevik

deed which echoed thruout the world." (!)

Browder confesses seven errors committed in a previous article of his, but none of the confessions seemed to make much sense, so we dug up the original article. It has a peculiar timeliness at this moment when Laval and Hoover are abusing each other and "explaining" the "agreements" arrived at in Laval's visit to America. Browder has applied the keen weapon of Marxism and revealed in an article later published in pamphlet form ("The Secret Hoover-Laval War Facts"). "The last weeks (after the Laval visit and the Japanese invasion of Shanghai and Manchuria) have clearly disclosed the emergence of a new constellation of imperialist powers, in which the United States is moving toward hegemony of a block for the re-division of the world. In this constellation more clearly appears the leading role of France, Japan and the United States, with Germany and Italy in a subordinate role."

The reader must be rubbing his eyes! What a constellation! Could there be more mistakes in a single paragraph? Even the superficial observer must note the sharpening antagonism between the European debtors and the United States, between France and Italy, between

France and the United States, between Japan and the United States. But the "Marxian method," as employed by Browder, enables him to see "below the surface," to miss seeing what is on the surface altogether.

"Self-Criticism"

Plenums come and plenums go and the party abuses and abuses itself with confessions of "bureaucracy," "sterile inner life," "lack of party democracy," "failure to work in the reactionary unions," bureaucratic strangling the party-controlled unions, "resolutions remaining only on paper," "lagging behind the masses," "failure to hold new members"; "failure to carry on united front work", etc., etc. This is known as the practise of "Bolshevik self-criticism." Let us compare the "practise" with the theory from which it is derived.

"We need not be afraid," said Lenin, "to expose our errors to the enemy. He who fears that is no revolutionist. On the contrary if we say openly to the workers: Yes, we have made mistakes! that means that we will not repeat those mistakes next time..."

But what shall we say of a party that openly acknowledges its mistakes at the Tenth Plenum, acknowledges the same mistakes at the Eleventh Plenum, keeps on repeating them till the Twelfth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Plenums,

and so on forever? As a matter of fact, the party has not made the slightest attempt in over three years to analyse and correct its real mistakes. It dares not analyze its false estimate of the American situation, for that false estimate comes from the International. S. Gussev speaking:

"Altho the development of the revolutionary movement in the Anglo-American countries still lags considerably behind the high tension of the whole international situation, even in these countries, the C. I. sections are faced with the same task; preparing the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. In the Anglo-American countries the winning majority of the proletariat is for the C. I. sections a practical task for the present day!" ("Inprecor", November 3, 1932, p. 1059).

Second, it dares not analyze its false tactical line in the trade unions (building of separate unions for the Communists and their sympathizers) nor its false tactical line in rejecting the united front (a "united front" means only an invitation to non-party workers to support the party) because both these basic causes of all errors in trade union and mass work, are part of the unassailable "line of the Tenth Plenum of the E. C. I."

"We have no reason to modify this line in any way. Everything that has happened during this period has confirmed the correctness of this line," said Earl Browder to the Twelfth Plenum of the Party's Central Committee. (Every "application" is a mistake but it couldn't be possible that the line is wrong.)

"There is no one here to speak against this line," continued Browder, "there is no one in the party who retains any doubt about the correctness of our line."

Which brings us back to Wonderland where the oysters, once eaten by the Walrus and the Carpenter, kept silent, because:

But answer there came none— And this was scarcely odd because They'd eaten every one.

This does wholesale expulsion establish the correctness of a "general line", develop "Bolshevik self-criticism", promote "Marxian analysis" and enrich the theoretical life of the Communist Party of the United States!

* "In the first quarter of 1932 there were 30,000 registered in the unemployed organizations and in the second quarter there were 13,000" (in the same article).

of an idea, remains sterile; the intellectual blinders which the "eminent scientists" wear because of their class position prevent them from seeing what fairly cries out for recognition. For it is not just "vested interests" here and there that "resist change," but it is the gigantic "vested interest" of capitalism, controlling the government and the dominant social forces, that resists all social change which even by implication threatens to undermine the very "foundations of society"—the right of private property in the means of production and the profit motive as the driving force in our economic life. And yet, it is precisely these two fundamental principles that are at bottom responsible for the "astounding contrasts in organization and disorganization", for the "lack of synchronization" of the various parts of our social mechanism, and for all the other ills which the report deplures. To urge, therefore, the "application of intelligent planning in social direction", and even to recommend an elaborate mechanism of advisory councils and sub-councils, while at the same time preserving the "merits of private property, individual enterprise and self-help," argues such a colossal failure to understand the realities of the situation that one may well question the capacity of the committee to grasp the simplest social truth! The fact is, our "eminent scientists"

(Continued on Page 7)

On The Hoover "Social Trends" Report

WHAT'S HAPPENING TO THE UNITED STATES?

by Will Herberg

(Concluded from the last issue)

The committee report calls attention to the already known but very significant structural changes in the body of the gainfully employed in this country in the last several decades. Between 1870 and 1930, the proportion of the gainfully employed in the total population over 16 years of age rose from 50% to 57%, largely due to the introduction of women into industry. But in the same period, the proportion of the gainfully employed occupied in "the work of transforming raw materials into useable, consumable goods," in productive labor, in other words, fell from 77% to 52%! This surprising decrease, made possible by technical progress, expressed itself in the rank growth of parasitic non-productive occupations, such as salesmen, insurance agents, "promoters," etc. Furthermore, considerable sections of workers, apparently productively employed, were really "wasting" their efforts inasmuch as they were subordinated to non-productive enterprises; take the case of printers turning out advertising material, for example—and advertising absorbed almost half of the printing done in recent years! Finally, in the period of 1920-1929, there was an absolute decrease in the number of workers employed in manufacturing industries, in spite of incredible jumps in productivity and production. No more striking evidence of the decadence of capitalism today could be imagined!

Labor In Dying Capitalism

The many paragraphs in the report dealing with labor, however, merit careful study. Of course, the committee makes its bow to much advertised "prosperity" of 1925-1929. But, if we examine the matter closely, some very interesting conclusions emerge. In the pre-war period of 1900-1913, the output per individual wage-earner rose 17% per year but average real wages fell 0.1% a year, in contrast to the rise of receipts of stockholders of 1.2% annually. Indeed, the best estimates maintain that in the thirty years preceding 1920 real wages actually fell, while labor productivity and returns to the capitalists mounted sky-high.

In the "prosperity" years of 1922-1929, employment slowly declined—already more than 10% of the workers were unemployed—while output per worker rose 3.3% yearly. In manufacturing, indeed, the total increase in per capita output in the years 1920-1928 was 53%—a most amazing figure. Yet, in those "golden years", wages rose only 1.4% a year (this was the "prosperity!") while the receipts of stockholders jumped 16.4% annually. Measured in terms of the unit cost of goods produced, the "reward of labor" was fast declining in the great days of "prosperity"; the share of labor in the products of industry was becoming smaller, while the per capita output of labor was growing with giant strides. In the first two years of the crisis—the report puts the finishing touches to these devastating statistics—not only did unemployment mount to over 10,000,000, but "the aggregate money earnings paid to American employees fell about 35%, while the cost of living declined about 15%." A striking picture of "America the Golden."

And the future? "For the very near future the standard of living may decline further because of the menace to wages caused by unemployment, the possible slowness of economic recovery from the de-

pression, and the weakness of collective action on the part of the wage-earners." The last phrase is indeed significant: it brings us face to face with the tragic failure of the official labor movement in the last decade and more.

"The membership of American trade unions declined from 5 millions in 1920 to 3.3 millions in 1931, the first time in American history that the unions did not gain in membership in a period of prosperity. . . . In the big industries, such as coal, meat packing, and steel, the unions have lost ground and have made no gains in others, such as the manufacture of automobiles. (When other functions than membership (that is, fighting power—W. H.) are considered, it is clear that the organization of labor has not gone forward. . . . Organizations of employers and employees have changed at unequal rates of speed. . . . The organized labor movement seems declining in numbers and vigor."

One has to be completely blind not to see that the marked decline of the labor movement in numbers and fighting power has been due to its official policy of collaboration with the capitalists instead of struggle against them. It is the conservatism of the unions that has brought them to the desperate pass of to day. "Strikes have declined about 80% since the World War," we are told, again an unprecedented occurrence in American labor history. Today, this committee of bourgeois sociologists emphasizes "the weakness of collective action on the part of the wage-earners" and warns that, "unless labor organizations show a more vigorous growth in the future, other resources of society must be drawn upon to meet these problems"—a warning that bodes no good for labor!

The Root Of The Question

It is in the concluding sections of the report that "eminent scientists" show their complete inability to cope with reality. Why, they ask themselves, does not "social invention" (change in fundamental social institutions) keep pace with "mechanical invention" (development of the productive forces)? Along with some trite platitudes, we find the significant admission: "vested interests resisting change in self-defense." But this phrase, altho it indicates the beginnings

Have You Read ?

- THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT, by Jay Lovestone 10c
- SOME PLAIN WORDS ON COMMUNIST UNITY, by Ben Gitlow 5c
- THE HERITAGE OF THE CIVIL WAR, by Will Herberg 5c
- FOR REVOLUTION, by V. F. Calverton 25c
- + Reductions for bundle orders
- + WORKERS AGE PUB. ASS'N 228 Second Avenue

The Group at Work

Splendid Meeting in Bronx

New York City. At least seven hundred workers turned out to hear Jay Lovestone speak on "What Is the Communist Opposition" on Friday, January 27, at Ambassador Hall in the Bronx. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Bronx section of the Communist Opposition. The meeting was larger than any similar gathering that the official party has held in the same section for a long time.

Several hundred party members were present in the audience. The party bureaucrats had planned a "concentration" for the purpose of disruption but this "concentration" turned into its exact opposite. The party members and sympathizers listened carefully to Comrade Lovestone's brilliant indictment of the sectarian policies of the C. P. and his forceful exposition of the line of the Communist Opposition. The meeting lasted far into the night. Members of the Socialist party were also present and participated in the discussion.

Something is brewing in the party—the Bronx meeting shows it.

LOVESTONE SPEAKS IN BROOKLYN

The Brooklyn Unit of the Communist Opposition held its first open meeting of the membership campaign with Jay Lovestone speaking on "What Next In Germany" at the Brooklyn Labor Lyceum on Thursday, January 26, 1933. Almost one hundred workers were present, practically all German-Americans.

There were present at the meeting Socialists, Communists and an organized group of Hitlerites, who were not in the least bashful about appealing against a "united German working class" and for a "united Germany under Hitler." Comrade Lovestone answered very effectively pointing out the crude demagoguery and the murderous anti-working class policy of Hitler. He showed how the Nazi program could never solve the capitalist contradictions and could only bring in the blackest reaction. His conclusion was received with boisterous approval by most of the workers present. A substantial collection was taken, quite a bit of literature sold, and about twenty workers gave the names and addresses for future contacts.

M.

BOSTON, MASS.

Boston, Mass.

The Communist Opposition in Boston has been reorganized and six new members have joined. For the first time in many months a public meeting was held under the auspices of the group. The meeting was held on Sunday, January 27, at the Elizabeth Peabody House. About one hundred were present at the meeting. Comrade Lovestone spoke on the present situation in the Soviet Union. Quite a number of workers indicated their interest in further meetings and arranged to help make them a success.

FORT WAYNE, IND.

Fort Wayne, Ind.

The Fort Wayne organization continues to grow. Special progress is to be noted amongst the Negro workers, of whom eight have joined the Communist Opposition within the last two weeks. Sentiment for a Labor party is growing amongst the workers. The unemployed are also improving their organization and militancy is increasing amongst them. One of the most encouraging factors in the situation there is the growing cooperation between the workers and the impoverished farmers.

DETROIT, MICH.

Detroit, Michigan.

There has been a real improvement in the activities of the Communist Party (Opposition) in the unemployed field. Particularly amongst the Mexican workers has

the Communist Opposition recently made headway. Some of the outstanding leaders of the Mexican workers in Detroit have joined our organization. The membership of the group has been further increased thru recruiting amongst Ukrainian workers.

MONTREAL, CANADA

Montreal, Canada.

The Montreal unit has improved considerably in its functioning. It is now especially active in the Worker Educational Society which is conducting two classes; one by Comrade Mike Buhay on Marxism-Leninism and the other by Comrade Breslow on Fundamentals of Communism.

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

San Antonio, Texas.

The progressive forces among the unemployed have, in cooperation with the members of our organization, won an impressive victory against the reactionaries who tried to have the unemployed movement turned into a church affair and an anti-Negro organization. The victory of the progressive and radical forces has given entirely new life to the organization of the unemployed which has attracted very many Negroes who are amongst its best fighters.

PROUD ACQUISITION FOR THE PARTY

The "Daily Worker" of January 21 parades very prominently the re-admission into the party of A. Guss, a former "Lovestonite". In order to appreciate exactly the value of this new acquisition to the party, who, by the way, is now an important functionary in the Chicago district, we publish the following:

SHOLOM ALEICHEM
BRANCH 118
Workmen's Circle
Philadelphia, Pa.

March 28, 1932.

Dear Sirs:

If you are the same as your representative, A Gussakoff or

TROTSKY SPLIT IN GERMANY

Berlin, Germany.

On the very eve of the Fascist seizure of power, which exposed fully the falsity of the tactical line of the Communist Party of Germany and of the Communist International, the orthodox Trotskyist group of this country, the group "Die permanente Revolution", has capitulated and gone back to the official C. P. G. The last issue of its organ contained a full page appeal for unconditional return to the party!

This leaves the "International Left Opposition" without a group in Germany which, as Trotsky rightly points out, is the "key to the international" situation. True enough, the group "Die permanente Revolution" never was of any importance politically or organizationally. But to lose any base at all in Germany at this time is a very serious matter for the Trotskyites.

There are in Germany two other Trotskyist groups; the Leninbund of Urbahn, which broke with Trotsky in 1930 over very serious questions, and the heretic Trotsky group "Der Kommunist", against which Trotsky has recently launched even more violent attacks than against the official C. P. Both groups are very small and of no consequence.

A. Davis or any other fiction name or names, then we have nothing to do with your kind. He is a bum and wherever he is he is a menace to the good of the cause you are preaching and to the working class.

Max Levine, Secretary.

* * *

COMMUNIST PARTY

(Majority Group)

New York City

April 5, 1932.

Dear Friend:

I have your letter of March 28 in which you complain about the character and activities of A. Gussakoff. I wish to inform you that our organization took up the question of Gussakoff some time ago and that he was expelled from our organization and is no longer a member of the same.

Ben Gitlow, Secretary

About the Clique Struggle in the Party

A Letter

We publish below a very significant letter of Comrade Allen to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the C.P.U.S.A. It throws light on the sharp factional struggle raging within the upper circles of the party leadership but suppressed and kept out of sight of the party membership. The membership of the C.P. owe it to themselves and to the party to ask in no uncertain tones: "What are the issues in the struggle? Bring them out into the open!"—Editor.

Chicago, Illinois,
January 12, 1933.

To the Political Bureau:

Dear Comrades:

Comrade Gebert handed me a letter with the following message contained therein:

"The Political Bureau has taken note of the fact that you are carrying on an agitation against the center in open disregard of your responsibilities to the Political Bureau. If you have any questions to raise about the work of the center, you shall raise them only with the Political Bureau. You are categorically prohibited from continuing this agitation in the districts.

Fraternally yours,
EARL BROWDER
Secretary.

This is a very bold and all embracing (but at the same time, a very superficial) accusation without any definition whatsoever. It would give the impression that I am traveling around districts on my own hook and agitating against the "center" (I take the liberty to understand by the "center" the Central Committee).

For the benefit of the members

of the P. B., let it be mentioned that I left New York in accordance with the instructions of the Political Commission of the E. C. C. I., where I was advised to go to help the comrades there in the practical work for a period of three to four months.

I was in Detroit for nearly two months. If that slight strengthening of the work in Detroit (establishment of the "Michigan Worker", campaigning against the party going into voluntary illegality, beginnings of turning the party towards the shops, etc.), which there evidently has taken place and in which I played a modest role, is interpreted as far as I am concerned, as an agitation against the center, I certainly must disagree with such an interpretation.

After Detroit, I considered that in order to be fully in line with the instructions of the Political Commission, I should go to Chicago, where I have been, as Comrade Browder very well knows, since December 17, and where he could have had plenty of opportunities to tell me about the things referred to in the letter as my "responsibilities to the Polburo."

In this regard, it should be mentioned that I believed that the P.B. knows that I was appointed by C. I. to be in this country in a capacity of instructor, and the party has been informed accordingly. With regards to instructions, the Constitution of the E. C. C. I. states the following:
"The E.C.C.I. and its Presidium

In the Comintern

The "New Turn" in French C. P.

In the second election district of Semis (Oise) by-elections for the chamber took place recently. In these elections the Communist candidate received 2,403 votes, 622 votes more than last year. The Socialist candidate, Uhry, received 9,038 votes, about 100 less than last year. Next to Uhry came a notorious reactionary by the name of Chauvel, calling himself an "independent Socialist," who received 9,023 votes. In the face of this situation, the District Committee of the Communist Party of France made a public appeal for a united front to the Socialists for the next run-off elections: that Uhry, who had recently compromised himself very badly, should be withdrawn and replaced by an uncompromised Socialist candidate and that a joint minimum program of struggle be accepted—in which case, the Communist Party would withdraw its candidate and urge the election of the Socialist!

Incredible! What has happened in France is not only the "united front from above," so often condemned by the present leadership of the Communist International, but, even worse, it is the application of election tactics that have been branded as "ultra-opportunist" again and again in the last few years. What has happened to the notorious "class against class" tactics?

And even more! The "Humanite" (central organ of the Communist Party of France) reports in its issue of January 17: "Yesterday Comrades Maurice Thorez and Jacques Doriot, in the name of our party, met with Paul Faure and J. B. Severac, representatives of the Socialist party (affiliated to the Second International) and Paul Louis and M. Juncker, representatives of the Party of Proletarian Unity. The purpose of this conference was to discuss the question of the unity of action of the proletariat and to define its forms."

What's this? The "united front from above" with a vengeance—a united front of the very top leaders!

We would like to know: Why is the Communist Opposition attack-

ed, abused and insulted in the most vicious manner for openly and clearly advocating tactics which the official party leaders are applying covertly and piecemeal?

GERMAN OPPOSITION IN CONFERENCE

Berlin, Germany.

The fifth national conference of the Communist Party of Germany (Opposition), held on December 31, 1932 and January 1, 1933, was a striking reflection of the real strength of our group. In spite of the greatest difficulties, the conference had a broader and more extensive representation than any previous gathering of that character.

The two days of the national conference were filled with intensive work. Comrade Brandler reported on the activity of the group and of the Reichsleitung (national leadership). Both the report and the discussion laid great emphasis upon the organizational tasks of the group, upon the absolute necessity of bridging the gap between the rapidly growing political influence of the Opposition and its relatively backward organizational strength. Thalheimer's report on the political situation and the tasks of the C.P.G.-Op., a masterly piece of work, gave rise to an interesting discussion on the relation of the bourgeoisie to Fascism. Following this came the report by Comrade Bolze on the C. P. G.-O. and the trade unions, in which bankruptcy of the tactics of the R. G. O. (the German T. U. U. L.—Editor) was fully exposed and the correctness of the Opposition viewpoint examined in the light of actual developments.

A special feature of the conference was the informative report on the Soviet Union, explaining the essential features of the general line of the C. P. S. U., the splendid achievements of socialist construction as well as the great difficulties in its way.

The conference was dominated by a spirit of political determination and firm unity of outlook and action. It argued well for the future of our group.

ANOTHER "C. P." IN FRANCE

Paris, France.

In November 1932 a new "Communist Party," the Independent Communist Federation of the East (Federation communiste independante de l'Est), was formed. This organization, whose influence extends over the Belfort region, Doubs, Haute-Saone and the Jura territory, is out to constitute itself into a new nation-wide party, distinct from any of the existing class political organizations. It arose as a result of the split that took place in April 1932 between the central leadership of the C.P. of France and the leaders of the Belfort district. Since that time, they made considerable gains in various directions, enrolling a considerable number of revolutionary workers.

Into this new party has entered Boris Souvarine, once a leader of the C.P. of France, and more recently the head of the Democratic Communist Circle (Cercle communiste democratique). Souvarine's ideas dominated the constituent convention of the new party. It issued a manifesto to the workers declaring itself "inspired by the first four congresses of the Communist International" and urging the formation of "a new Communist Party of France, section of the Fourth International." This new party has a paper called the "Communist, Trade Unionist and Co-operative Worker" ("Travailleur communiste, syndicaliste et cooperatif").

It is unnecessary to point out that this road of a "new party" is categorically rejected by the Communist Opposition, since it can only lead to a new anti-Communist party.

Comradely yours,
ALLEN

Hartford Unemployed Ass'n Makes Good Progress

A Letter From Hartford

Hartford, Conn.
On Friday, January 22, the Hartford Association of Unemployed held a membership meeting at its headquarters. The members of the organization packed the hall to capacity. Milton Singer, president of the Association, explained the aims of that organization. The activities of the association were reported on by Kenneth Epstein, the secretary.

Addressing this meeting the Rev. Charles C. Noble urged every member to help build up a strong genuine and sincere unemployment movement. He also explained the futility of the mayor's outfit and the wasted effort made by a group of single women to start a war of married women.

During the discussion period several workers raised the question of the city dispensary. It was stated that in the city of Hartford, where more than 60,000 people are affected by the depression to such an extent that they have to apply for aid, we find only one dispensary! Moreover, even this one is not centrally located. Workers have to walk for miles to get tokens at the welfare department so they can go to the dispensary where they are humiliated.

One of the best mass meetings ever arranged by the Association took place on Friday, January 21, at the Center Church House. John A. Lonergan, president of the Hartford Building Trades Alliance, and Rev. Fletcher Parker, liberal minister, were the guest speakers of the gathering. They spoke in praise of the Association's aims and purpose. Mr. Lonergan, as a union man, urged the cooperation of organized labor with those who are out of work thru no fault of their own.

During the discussion period the representatives of the official Communist Party, scattered thruout the hall, attacked in their usual manner, the American Federation of Labor unions and the Communist Opposition in an attempt to disrupt this well-attended meeting. But they failed in their childish action. Kenneth Epstein condemned the welfare department for treating the unemployed workers like dogs, especially the aliens. The officials are making every effort to cut down the relief given the unemployed. But at the same time these

gentlemen have decided to spend \$150 to buy gold badges for the commissioners. They have also voted to pay out \$27,000 to an accountant who whitewashed the welfare department in regards the city store.

In answering the accusation of the official Communist Party that the Association is "against the interest of the workers", Albert Epstein, former president of this organization, showed that the Communist-led Unemployment Council, the sincere in its intentions, has not been able to build up a strong movement due to the fact that it is always bringing party politics into the organization. He pointed out that a movement like that of the unemployed must be on the widest basis possible.

At the meeting the secretary reported that the Association is planning a series of educational and entertainment lectures in order to keep up the morale of the unemployed. The lectures will be held three times a week. This will also make members more tied together and more active in the work. He also stated that branches are being organized in every section of the city with the purpose of increasing the membership and, moreover, to make the organization more effective in organizing the thousands of unemployed.

All indications show that the Hartford Association of the Unemployed is becoming a powerful movement of the jobless as well as of the working class as a whole. The cooperation of the trade unions and other organizations of the workers was promised. In spite of the disruptive efforts of the official Communist Party on the left and the mayor on the right, the movement is growing.

G. P.

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Canada Briefs

I. L. G. W. U. PROTESTS SWEAT-SHOPS

Toronto, Canada.

Charles Kreindler, vice-president of the I. L. G. W. U., pleaded with the local Board of Control (municipal government), that it appoint a commission to enquire into the conditions of slave labor which hold in the industry today. Conditions are deplorable, he said, many of the workers being forced to toil for 11 and 12 hours a day.

Kreindler reported to a mass meeting of about 1,200 in the Labor Lyceum on his interview with the city moguls. Strong-arm men were at the door to prevent Industrial Union members from entering the hall. In the event that the union demands for the 40-hour week, piece-setting committees and unemployment insurance are not met, a general strike will be resorted to—at least so it is threatened.

THE ELECTIONS IN ALBERTA

Calgary, Alberta.

In the by-election for a seat in the Provincial Legislature, January 19, the conservatives recorded a majority on the first count. Running second with a poll of 10,200 votes, a couple of thousand behind the leader, was Miss Amelia Turner, nominee of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation. This is the Federation's first parliamentary contest since organization about half a year ago. The C. C. F. may be likened to a Labor party, excepting that it is not based upon

YOUNG COMMUNIST

Issued monthly by the Communist Youth Opposition of the U.S.A.

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Economic Plan of the Soviet Union for 1933

The First Year Of The Second Five-Year Plan

The economic plan of the Soviet Union for the year 1933, the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan, involves a slowing up of the tempo of industrial production and places very great emphasis primarily upon the thoro organization of the newly built factories and their establishment upon a profitable basis. Industrial production is to be raised 16.5% in 1933. In the individual branches of industry the following are the most significant figures: 9 million tons of pig iron, 84 million tons of coal, 24.4 millions tons of oil, etc. Of course, the expansion of industry is not to cease. Capital investments for industry in 1933 are to reach the figures of 10.11 billion rubles as compared with 9.16 billion in

the trades unions. Labor parties, and so on, are affiliated. John O'Sullivan, the United Front candidate, only managed to secure 533 votes. Comrade O'Sullivan was recently released from the prison, after having served a year for unlawful assembly. The conviction arose out of a party demonstration in the Drumheller coal mining district.

BOSS "JUSTICE" IN TORONTO

Toronto, Canada.

"I want these forty-three men who were arrested in the Ukrainian Hall (Toronto) let out on their own bail and bound over to keep the peace for a week. If there is any demonstration I will have them brought back into custody." Thus spoke Crown Attorney Malone in the Toronto police court on January 20. He got what he wanted. The Canadian Labor Defense League was endeavoring to secure a bail in order to stage a protest meeting against this mass arrest. Spotters must have reported this to the police. Hence the proviso that these men do not appear in any demonstration. In connection with the same case, the two comrades Johnson (Beatty) and Baker are held on \$200 bail upon more serious charges laid under Section 98. They, too, are bonded not to appear at any protest meeting.

1932. Especially is light industry, which serves the consumption needs of the masses, to be expanded. Capital investments here are to be increased 48% over the preceding year.

The productivity of labor is to be raised 14% while the unit costs of production are to be cut 3.9% in industry and 15% in building construction. The real wages of the industrial workers are to be increased by 9%.

The number of workers and employees is to be increased by only 2%. The 16% increase in production is to be attained primarily thru the elevation of labor productivity, thru the better utilization of machines, thru the raising of the skill of the workers, etc.

The cultivated area in agriculture is not to be extended but the crop per acre is to be raised. The number of machine and tractor stations is to be increased slightly to reach 2,760. In the machine and tractor stations and on the state farms, political sections are to be organized on the model of the political sections of the Red Army. The task of the political sections is to stimulate the execution of the economic plans thru the political clarification of the masses and to break the influence of the kulaks and other anti-soviet elements. The heads of the political sections of the machine and tractor stations and of the state farms are to bear the same responsibility for the execution of the economic plans as do the directors of the factories.

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TECHNOCRACY AND THE WORKERS

(Continued from page 4)

large fluctuations in certain periods do not substantially affect either this general process or the relative importance of the working class in a bourgeois society. It is an incontrovertible fact that the development of machinery, the transformation of agricultural communities into industrial communities, increases the size of the working class, and not vice versa. In spite of machines, power, energy, we cannot forget that behind the machine stands the man, behind the electric current, or gas, or petroleum, there is the human laborer. Energy does not operate by divine benediction; it is created and operated only by the application of human labor. The human worker has not disappeared and will not disappear for a long time to come.

The efforts of the technocrats to demonstrate the non-existence of the working class are not mere philosophical or mathematical speculations. They are necessary for certain conclusions of a social and political nature which the technocrats draw. "What becomes of the class struggle theory?" asks Chase, interpreting his charts and diagrams. The answer is already obvious: "Where are the toiling masses without a worker in the plant? Photo-electric cells can readily identify the color red, but they are difficult to organize." No working class, no class struggle; no working class, nobody being exploited; no working class, no strikes; no working class, no struggle for

higher wages, shorter hours, unemployment insurance; no working class, no trade unions, no political parties; no working class, no revolution! A paradise—for whom? For the workers who no longer exist? No! For the one who has reason to fear and hate the working class, without being able to do without it—the exploiters! Let technocracy convince the worker of his own non-existence and non-importance and some of the main problems of the capitalist class are solved. We see here the basic anti-working class orientation of technocracy, a system which rejects the class struggle, which rejects all efforts on the part of the on the part of the workers in their own behalf, which rejects the working class as an instrument for the revolutionary change of society. It is then no wonder that technocracy has no use for any working class organizations, such as trade unions or political parties or for working class ideas (Marxism is described as an "intellectual expression of dementia praecox" and Communism is dismissed as a thing of the past) and is definitely hostile to that country where the working class is already reconstructing society on non-capitalist lines, the Soviet Union. This anti-labor system is the legitimate child of a section of the petty bourgeoisie, engineers, technicians, scientists, largely declassed by the crisis, but so intoxicated with a sense of their own importance that they are incapable of conceiving any

scheme of social change unless it revolves entirely around themselves. They offer themselves as a substitute for the proletariat. "As the proletariat declines in numbers and importance, the technical class grows." Stuart Chase is speaking. "History may now be in the process of creating a new industrial class, more important than the worker, owner, creditor or financial manager—the men who understand and operate energy. Technocracy is the first formal organization of this class." These tiny-type economists and tin-can engineers have at least something in superabundance, shallow belief in their future, inflated pride in their powers!

(Continued in the next issue)

WHAT'S HAPPENING TO AMERICA?

(Continued from page 5)

and, with them the great bulk of the bourgeois sociologists and economists, are only latter-day representatives of what Marx called "conservative or bourgeois Socialism." "There are certain bourgeois," Marx describes them, "who want to redress social grievances—in order to safeguard bourgeois society. . . . They want the conditions of life which characterize modern society without the antagonisms and the dangers which are the inevitable outcome of these conditions." And, as if in deliberate commentary upon these words of Marx, the committee throws out its parting warning:

"Unless there can be a more impressive integration of social skills and

fusing of social purposes than is revealed by present trends, there can be no assurance that the alternative with its accompaniment of violent revolution . . . can be averted."

There you have it—the great message of the "eminent scientists", issued with the blessing of Herbert Hoover: Anything to avert a revolution! Anything to prevent the collapse of the disintegrating capitalist system out of which are born economic chaos, social confusion, spiritual degradation, all-encompassing misery and mass destruction. A worthy aim indeed for those who claim to cherish truth and human welfare!

Fortunately, neither the "scientific" reaction of these gentlemen of the Hoover Committee nor the more substantial efforts of their master, the great "vested interest", capitalism, will be effective in the long run. Mankind today is faced with the real alternative: **Reversion to barbarism or advance to communism!** Only those who have lost all hope in the destiny of humankind and are content to sink into cynical pessimism, can doubt that mankind will in the end prove able to save itself from the impending disaster!

HITLER IN POWER— WHAT NOW?

(Continued from page 3)

world-wide imperialist drive against the U. S. S. R.

We sounded an alarm call against Fascism before. We cannot sound it too often. There is still a probability of beating back Fascism, which has so far been vic-

torious. The Communist Party of Germany and the Social-democratic party of Germany must establish a real working class united front. Together, both organizations must work out a plan for immediate preparation for an effective general political strike. This means that the unemployed will have to be organized for a thoro cooperation with the employed and organized workers. This means that the Social-democratic party will have to drop all reliance on Hindenburg, all faith in the Supreme Court and all hopes in the Schleichers, Bruenings, and high Reichswehr officers. This means that the official Communists will have to drop completely their union-splitting policies and take every possible step to hasten the return of all militants to the free trade unions, to liquidate the special Communist unions organized in the so-called "Red trade union movement". There must be established one unified anti-Fascist defense organization. Finally, in the coming elections, the Communist and Social-democratic parties should arrive at an agreement to put up one working class ticket, a unified proletarian front, an election block of the proletariat against the Fascist terror regime.

Only such thorogoing cooperation between the Communist and Social-democratic parties, only the building of a broad and honest united front of the proletariat in Germany, can even at this late hour hold out the hope and the probability of success in dealing a death blow to the Fascist dictatorship in Germany.

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February 15, 1933.

MR. GREEN WAXES "REVOLUTIONARY"!

THE unmistakable effects of the widespread revolt of the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor against the traditional conservatism of the union officialdom, are to be seen in the new tone characterizing the statement made on January 25 by President Green of the A. F. of L. in an interview published in "Nation's Business", organ of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. "The American trade union movement has been patient," declared Mr. Green. "We agreed to refrain from drastic action if employers would refrain from drastic action. . . . If any one doubts that employers long since have forgotten their promise and that they have reduced wages in almost every industry, let him consult a dozen authoritative sources of statistics. Finally, after three years of suffering we, the organized workers, declare to the world 'Enough! We shall use our might to compel the plain remedies withheld by those whose misfeasance caused our woe!'"

But getting down to brass tacks, Mr. Green had nothing to propose as a program for labor except such lower middle class measures as the licensing of corporations, a protective governmental service for investors (this to protect working men!), "constructive governmental control of credit to finance production," and so on. A few vague phrases as to "higher wages" and the "organization of workers into more and stronger unions", are included. Mr. Green furthermore refused to "reveal" exactly what the A. F. of L. intends to do except talk, on the ground of the necessity of secrecy from the bosses!

The plain truth is that Mr. Green and his fellow officials of the A. F. of L. are going to try to limit their new "militancy" to words and talk, in this way hoping to quiet down the revolt of the rank and file and yet continue to do nothing. Does Mr. Green think the labor movement can function as a deep and dark conspiracy, refusing to outline a realistic program or to make its plans known to its own membership? Is not all this "secrecy" really a smokescreen of mystification behind which to hide a continuation of the old doing nothing policy?

Only a solidly organized and clear-headed progressive movement in the unions can compel Mr. Green and his friends to pass from words to deeds—or if they cannot be compelled, they can be replaced by officials who are ready to carry out the will of the membership!

DEEPER INTO THE SWAMPS OF DUALISM

IN its statement on the recent elections in Local 1, I.L.G.W.U., the National Committee of the Communist Party (Opposition) warned: "The victory of the 'Left' group will certainly have the consequence of intensifying the dual-unionist and splitting policies, thus bringing more demoralization and chaos into the ranks of the cloakmakers." That this warning was strikingly in place is shown by subsequent developments. A few days ago the Needle Trades Workers Industrial Union issued a leaflet signed by the "Cloak Department of the N. T. W. I. U.", in other words, announcing the formation of a Cloak Department.

What does this step mean? It means a new drive for dual unionism in the cloak trade, a new bid for union splitting. The leaflet declares that this "Cloak Department of the N. T. W. I. U." is going to concentrate on the organization of the open shops. To organize the open shops into the dual union instead of the I. L. G. W. U. means, of course, to strengthen dual unionism with all its disastrous consequences. But everybody knows that the phrase about the open shops is mere camouflage; it is inevitable that the "Cloak Department of the N.T.W.I.U." will immediately start "grabbing" organized shops away from the I. L. G. W. U. and make the existing confusion worse confounded.

There is only one way out of this maze and that is: An end to dual unionism! One union in the industry! What remains of the T. U. U. L. union must be immediately merged into the I. L. G. W. U. and the unity of the needle trades workers really achieved.

On the Case of Comrade Benjamin Gitlow

Statement Of The National Committee

We publish below the statement issued by the National Committee of the Communist Party (Opposition) on the resignation of Comrade Gitlow from the group.—Editor.

At the very outset of our existence as an organized group, the National Council of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. (Opposition) declared officially ("Revolutionary Age", December 15, 1929):

"Our struggle has never been nor can it ever be an appendix to any individual or group in the C. P. S. U., victorious or defeated. While we have always condemned the anti-bolshevik methods used by the Stalin leadership in the struggle against Comrade Bukharin on the Russian questions, yet our struggle has never been based upon or associated with the line of Comrade Bukharin on these questions. Indeed the Russian questions never became issues in our struggle. . . . Our struggle is based exclusively upon the tasks of overcoming the present crisis in the Comintern and of restoring it and our party to a Leninist line."

This fundamental viewpoint, which, in fact, laid down the political basis of the existence of our group, was adopted unanimously and was reiterated unanimously on several occasions until a few months ago.

Toward the beginning of 1931, the National Council of our group unanimously adopted a resolution on the "Russian question" in which we fully endorsed the general line of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in socialist construction but sharply condemned the factional inner-party course of the Stalin leadership of the C.P.S.U. This resolution was also repeatedly endorsed unanimously as late as June 1932. Comrade Gitlow, as an outstanding leader of our group, fully participated in all these deliberations and entirely approved the unanimous position of our organization.

At about the time of our Second National Conference (September 1932), Comrade Gitlow and a few other comrades began to develop a different position, to the effect that not only was the general line of the C. P. S. U. in economic construction basically wrong, but that the "Russian question is the paramount question" so that "our position on the Russian question determines whether or not our group has a principled justification for existence." Comrade Gitlow's views were presented to the Second National Conference of the Communist Opposition and were decisively rejected by a large majority. For further clarification of the issue, the National Committee organized a most thorough post-conference discussion, in the units and in the press, under conditions of the most extreme freedom of discussion for Comrade Gitlow and those agreeing with him. Finally, when the membership rejected his viewpoint in no uncertain terms, Comrade Gitlow declared that the question was to him a "decisive question of fundamental principle" and that he therefore resigned from the American Communist Opposition. In this connection, it should be noted that, at the very beginning of the discussion, at the first New York membership meeting, Comrade Gitlow had already resigned from the group and only withdrew his resignation under pressure of the expressed will of the membership. So far, Comrade Gitlow remains alone in his action; not a single one of his very few followers has taken the step of breaking with our group.

In the course of the discussion the grave errors of Comrade Gitlow on the "Russian question" were brought out and made clear to everyone. But even more fundamental was Comrade Gitlow's attempt to revise the very political basis of existence of our group, by making the "Russian question" the

"paramount question" and thereby trying to replace our efforts to root out Opposition movement in the conditions of the class struggle and the labor movement of this country by demoralizing speculations upon factional fights and "new turns" in the C. P. S. U. Indeed, the mechanical and artificial transference of issues and factional alignments from the C. P. S. U. to the Communist Parties of the capitalist world, of which Comrade Gitlow has now suddenly become the champion, is regarded by the International Communist Opposition as precisely a root cause of the present crisis in the world Communist movement. For our group to adopt the viewpoint of Comrade Gitlow on this question, would mean to take the steep road to liquidation or else to our conversion into a phrase-mongering sect on the model of the Trotskyites, without roots in our own conditions, with eyes always fixed in unhealthy speculation upon factional developments in the C. P. S. U.

The absurdity of the charge made by Comrade Gitlow that we are "adopting a backstairs policy of getting back into the official Communist Party" is evident from every word and deed of the Communist Opposition. The sharpness and effectiveness of our struggle against the sectarian policies of the official C. P. have been constantly increasing and our organized strength consequently mounting. At the same time, our struggle for Communist unity has been growing more intense, Communist unity on the basis of full party democracy, on the basis of the conditions laid down by Comrade Gitlow himself in his recent pamphlet "Some Plain Words About Communist Unity." We need no "backstairs policy" because our fight for unity is conducted fully in the open before the party membership and the labor movement!

In spite of his sharp differences on important questions, we declare that place is still open for Comrade Gitlow in our group. Within the limits of democratic centralism, Comrade Gitlow is guaranteed his right to maintain his views, to defend and agitate for them when these questions are under discussion, provided only that he undertakes the elementary responsibility of standing on the official platform of the Communist Opposition outside of the group.

Whether Comrade Gitlow will see fit to take his place again in our ranks, remains with him. In any case, we can only reiterate: The struggle for rehabilitation of the Communist movement is a struggle above all individuals, whoever they may be. It is a struggle of principle, which we, as part of the International Communist Opposition, shall carry on until the bolshevik unity of the world Communist movement is restored!

What's Happening in the
Communist Movement?

Bertram D. Wolfe

Speaks on

What Does Communist
Opposition Stand For?

Thurs. Feb. 16, 8 p. m.

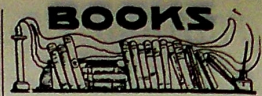
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WHAT NEXT? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat, by Leon Trotsky. Pioneer Publishers, New York, 1932.

In a certain sense this pamphlet represents the weakest side of Trotsky, just as the "History of the Russian Revolution" represents his best side. Its analysis is shoddy and careless, its conclusions hasty and often self-contradictory; in less than two hundred pages it succeeds in packing in crudest form the very worst of errors in principle and tactics that have become known under the name of "Trotskyism."

It is hard to tell exactly what Trotsky conceived the situation to be in Germany at the time he was writing. "Bruening's dictatorship is a caricature of Bonapartism," declares Trotsky (p. 38), without the least regard for the Marxist definition of Bonapartism. But only a few months later the von Papen and then the von Schleicher regimes become Bonapartism: Are they, after all, the same? Could anything be more hasty and careless, better refuted by events, than Trotsky's whole analysis of German political development?

Sectarianism exudes from every pore of this pamphlet. Trotsky's analysis of Social democracy, which leads him to the conclusion that the rhythm of Social-democratic influence follows the course of the strength of capitalism, is so "simple" that it is utterly false; it cannot explain how the radicalization of the workers can ever be expressed in the form of the growth of Social democracy. Fully in line with the worst traditions of ultra-leftism are Trotsky's remarks on trade union tactics (p. 102). "The fault of the Communist Party," we are told, "does not lie in that it 'splits' the ranks of the proletariat and 'weakens' the Social-democratic unions." Why not? Because these unions are—"Leipart's organizations"! Only too well do we know the logic of calling the A. F. of L. unions "Green's organizations"! After this, it is surely not surprising that Trotsky rejects the idea of "nominating a candidate for president on the part of the united workers front."

The notorious but ill-fated flirtation of Trotsky with the German centrists receives interesting comment in Chapters IX and XII.

In the chapters on the Soviet Union (Chapters X and XI) the positively anti-Soviet standpoint of the writer is brought out without equivocation. The Stalin regime is branded as a form of "plebeian Bonapartism" (p. 129) and as "the regime of personal dictatorship" holding "the working class 'by the throat' (p. 129). We are told of "the complete subjection of the proletariat within the party, the Soviets and the trade unions" (p. 134). The Soviet government is in the hands, according to Trotsky, of a "ruling caste" that "is raised above the masses and lays down the law to them", that has "its own interests, methods and regulations" (p. 121). And yet Trotsky has the audacity to complain when the notorious "theory of Thermidor" is attributed to him!

A revealing sign of the incredible carelessness with which formulations on the most important questions are presented in a pompously pontifical manner, is found in Trotsky's remarks on the role of Soviets (p. 92): "Could the Communist Party succeed, during the preparatory epoch, in pushing all other parties out of the ranks of the workers, by uniting under its banner the overwhelming majority of the workers, then there would be no need of Soviets." Absolutely astounding! What then would be the state form of the proletarian dictatorship? Does not Trotsky remember the classical declaration of the Second World Congress: "The authentic Soviets of the masses are the historically revealed form of the dictatorship of the proletariat." X. Y. Z.